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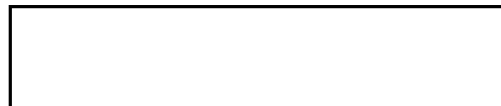
JUN 7 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Deputy Director (Plans)
Chief, Psychological and Paramilitary Staff

SUBJECT: Letter to The Vice President

Attached is a letter to The Vice President for your signature
thanking him for arranging the meeting between you and Mr. Copley.



CORD MEYER, JR.

Chief

International Organizations Division

25X1

Attachment:
Letter to Mr. Copley

cc: DDCI

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12 JUN 1957

The Vice President
~~The Capitol~~ *Senate Office Building*
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I attach, as of possible interest to you, a letter that Mr. James Copley wrote to a list of leading American publishers regarding the charges that had been made against Radio Free Europe by correspondent Endre Marton.

The letter, obviously, will be very helpful to us and I am grateful to you for the chance to talk to Mr. Copley on this important matter.

Respectfully yours,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

Encl.

STAT

C/ [] (5 June 1957)

Distribution:

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CONCUR:

C/IO

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(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE *White-House*)

THE COPLEY PRESS, INC.

7776 IVANHOE AVENUE
LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

JAMES S. COPLEY
CHAIRMAN OF THE CORPORATION

May 16, 1957

GLENCOURT
4-0311

Mr. Robert W. Richards
Chief
The Copley Press, Inc.
Washington News Bureau
Suite 1200 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Bob:

On Monday, April 22, 1957 during the AP meeting a discussion occurred between a group of correspondents who represent or have represented the AP in and around Iron Curtain countries in Europe.

It distressed me considerably to have Rndre Marton vehemently say that the Voice of America was worth very little and that Radio Free Europe was worth less than that.

In fact, this bothered me so much that later on in the week I discussed this problem with Vice President Nixon and Mr. Allen Dulles in Washington.

After a careful review of the whole problem, I personally feel that Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America are vitally important to our continual program of maintaining a free world. Perhaps the strongest argument that can be presented is the attached article distributed in February by Herb Altschull of the AP.

I cannot help but feel that Marton's adverse comments will affect Radio Free Europe in the future, particularly with the publishers who were present at the meeting. Altschull's article rebuts Marton and is well worth study.

To do a careful, analytical study of both sides of this problem, the AP probably should have had Altschull on the program with Marton.

If you should desire any further information on this, I can get you many authorities to substantiate my feeling, and I would certainly appreciate an opportunity to be able to give you such additional information as you would require.

It was wonderful seeing you in New York. The convention was a very fine one and I am looking forward to seeing you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

May 16, 1957

RADIO FREE EUROPE - VOICE OF AMERICA Letter sent to the following:

All Copley Newspaper Publisher

Wm. M. Hart, Aurora Beacon-News, Aurora, Ill.
C. Raymond Long, Elgin Courier-News, Elgin, Ill.
John F. Lux, Joliet Herald-News, Joliet, Ill.
F. S. Haynes, Illinois State Journal and Illinois State Register,
Springfield, Ill.
Wm. Shea, Associate Publisher, The San Diego Union and
Evening Tribune, San Diego, California
Barton Heiligers, Alhambra Post-Advocate, Alhambra, Calif.
Hoyt Cater, Burbank Daily Review, Burbank, Calif.
David J. Duncan, Culver City Star-news, Culver City, Calif.
Carroll W. Parcher, Glendale News-Press, Glendale, Calif.
Warren L. Taylor, Monrovia News-Post, Monrovia, Calif.
Robert L. Curry, Redondo Daily Breeze, Redondo Beach, Calif.
Bynner Martin, San Pedro News Pilot, San Pedro, Calif.

ANPA Officers and Directors

Wm. Dwight, Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram
D. Tennant Bryant, Richmond (Va.) News-Leader and Times-Dispatch
Mark Ferree, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, New York City
W. J. Blackburn, London (Ontario) Free Press
Chesser M. Campbell, Chicago (Ill.) Tribune
Frank A. Daniels, Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer
K. A. Engel, Arkansas Democrat, Little Rock, Arkansas
Irwin Maier, Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal
Gene Robb, Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union
Franklin D. Schurz, South Bend (Ind.) Tribune
J. Hale Steinman, Lancaster (Pa.) Intelligencer-Journal and Sunday News
G. Gordon Strong, Canton (Ohio) Repository
Louis A. Weil, Jr., Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald
Robert M. White, II, Mexico (Mo.) Ledger
H. H. Cahill, Seattle (Wash.) Times
Alden C. Walte, President, Southern California Associated Newspapers, Los Angeles
A. W. Shipton, President, The Copley Press, Inc., Springfield, Ill.
Robert Richards, Chief, The Copley Press, Inc., Washington News Bureau,
Washington, D. C. (with covering letter)
John R. Reitmeyer, Publisher, The Hartford Courant, Hartford 1, Conn.
Wm. H. Cowles, President, Spokane Chronicle Co., Spokane, Wash.
J. D. Funk, General Manager, Santa Monica Outlook, Santa Monica, Calif.

J. R. Knowland, The Tribune, Oakland, Calif.
Norman Chandler, The Times-Mirror Co., Los Angeles, Calif.
Marshall Field, Publisher, Sun-Times, Chicago, Ill.
John S. Knight, Publisher, Chicago Daily News, Chicago, Ill.
George W. Healy, Jr., Editor, The Times-Picayune, New Orleans, La.
Wm. R. Hearst, Jr., Hearst Consolidated Publications, Inc., New York
Roy W. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, New York
Frank Starzel, General Manager, Associated Press, New York (copy with covering letter)

'Objectivity' Hurt Radio Free Europe

Approved For Release 2003/01/30 : CIA-RDP80B01676R004200140006-7

After Soviet tanks and troops crushed the Hungarian revolt, charges began to fly that Radio Free Europe had set off the revolt with unfulfilled promises of Western arms and intervention. What really happened? How much was promised? An AP reporter examined Radio Free Europe scripts to get the answers.

By Herb Altschull

Associated Press

MUNICH, Germany — Did Radio Free Europe incite the Hungarians to revolt and keep things going when all was lost? Or is someone trying to make RFE a scapegoat for the West's failure to act?

Exhaustive study of RFE's operations during the critical days of October and November would appear to justify these conclusions:

- The radio network did not ignite the revolution.

- It did not promise Western armed support for Hungarian rebels.

- Some RFE broadcasts were capable of being regarded as hints that the West would intervene with military force.

- And, strange as it may seem, there were times when RFE confused the Hungarians by being too objective in its reports.

RFE is a propaganda radio network, the most powerful force of Western propaganda in five Eastern European satellite nations.

It is a multimillion-dollar operation supported by funds from the United States. RFE and the United States Government insist that all the money comes from private donations, but the suspicion persists in many places that some of its funds come from the United States Government.

RFE says that \$10 million a year is raised in a campaign drive by the Crusade for Freedom, which sponsors RFE. It will not say where the rest comes from or how much is borrowed.

The network has its headquarters in the richly forested English Gardens of Munich. Since 1951, it has broadcast straight news reports, news analysis exposing Soviet and satellite activities, and cultural and scientific programs into Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria.

By interviewing escapees from the satellites, RFE earned the names of Communist agents in factories and exposed them in broadcasts. It learned of poor living conditions in prison camps and exposed them. There are some

who say that RFE saved their lives by its exposes.

Ample proof of the success of these broadcasts is the constant barrage of invective directed at it by Communist leaders.

BUT THESE "routine" propaganda activities became secondary when the Hungarian revolution began last Oct. 23. For three weeks, RFE operated around the clock, discarding nearly all its other activities to concentrate on the Hungarian revolt.

Some people say it sinned and sinned greatly.

Sandor Racz, arrested chairman of the outlawed Budapest Central Workers Council, said that RFE "harmed us more than anything else, whether it wanted to or not."

A correspondent of France Soir, Paris, who was in Budapest during the revolt, wrote: "We heard on Radio Free Europe . . . programs whose impassioned tone and desperate calls to revolt certainly did a lot of wrong. During those last days, numerous Hungarians told us: 'These broadcasts have provoked bloodshed.'"

These are typical of RFE critics. On the other side:

The General Anseiger of Oberhausen, Germany, said: "The Soviet news agency, Tass, has picked up the frivolous contention (against RFE) and propagated it. The goal of the Kremlin is quite clear. If RFE were to stop its operations, the people behind the Iron Curtain, for whom RFE is the only link with the free world, would be convinced that the West has given them up for good."

Such comments could be multiplied a hundred-fold. And one can find scarcely any Hungarian refugee who wants RFE to quit.

One Hungarian refugee said that he considered it an insult to the Hungarian people to blame—or credit—RFE with the revolt. "We revolted against Russian tyranny," he said. "No radio station had anything to do with it."

THIS WRITER studied dozens of scripts of broadcasts that RFE made in those troubled days and came to the same conclusion.

One must remember the framework of events into which these broadcasts were beamed. The Hungarian people were emotionally aroused, eager for Western help, jumping at straws that might even suggest such help.

Into this charged atmosphere, RFE broadcast on Nov.

4, the day the Soviet tanks broke up the revolution:

"Today Hungary is at war and this war is not the affair of two countries alone. Upon the attack against Hungarian towns, the world has already started to move, the U. N. is already meeting. In these minutes one cannot see clearly, one cannot predict, what will happen."

"In these difficult hours, our people have a strong ally: the active sympathy of the whole world, its deep indignation and the demand of the free nations that their organizations and governments should commit everything for the defense of the Hungarian people."

"We do not know yet which of these demands will be realized and when. We promise that we shall immediately give an orientation about everything."

On the other hand, an RFE correspondent at the United Nations, reporting on the following day that the U. N. General Assembly had called on Russia to remove its troops from Hungary, added soberly:

"I cannot hush my anxiety that the carrying out of the General Assembly resolution will be curbed strongly by great difficulties . . . I hardly believe the Soviet Union will yield."

Those were trying days for the emigre workers at RFE. Some broke into hysterical tears while monitoring Radio Budapest broadcasts. Others became terribly excited while broadcasting. But most retained a moderate radio tone in their announcements.

THE RFE PEOPLE themselves are very frank in admitting errors. But they believe that the frustrated people of the West and of Hungary are inclined to make a scapegoat of RFE for their own failure to end Soviet rule in Hungary.

Richard J. Condon, European director of RFE, summed it up:

"There is a feeling of self-flagellation in the West for our failure to help and in Hungary there is disappointment that the West did nothing—and against RFE in particular because it is the biggest instrument the West has directed at Hungary."

"The Hungarians were ready to believe anything," Condon said. "I'm sure they interpreted some of our broadcasts as promising military aid, but we did no such thing. And, of course, we didn't incite any revolution."

Condon said that RFE

learned some object lessons from the revolt. Already, the network has shaken up its Hungarian operations and is now sticking cautiously to flat news reporting. But, Condon said, there have been no punitive dismissals.

Among the RFE broadcasts most frequently mentioned as encouraging prolongation of the fighting when all was lost are those quoting Western leaders, such as Mr. Eisenhower, Henry Cabot Lodge, Guy Mollet and Konrad Adenauer, who said again and again that the West would not forget Hungary.

RFE reported deadpan on Nov. 5 that Mr. Eisenhower had sent "a direct message of warning" to Soviet Premier Bulganin. And it reported that Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor Party, had said that "the whole world must unite against the wild beast of the Soviets."

Hindsight, RFE officials said, indicates that the broadcasts were "too objective."

"Perhaps we should have said these leaders were only speaking words," one RFE official said. "But how could we do that? We couldn't say Lodge demanded that the Soviets get out of Budapest but that he wasn't going to do anything about it."

"Well," he added, "maybe we should have."